2: Stirling--108 [2] (1930-1931) 1938 Jivaro
116, 249

"In addition to these staple food plants, other plants for various purposes are raised in the clearing about the houses. Among these might be listed cotton, tobacco, mycot, natima, achiote, and barbasco shrubs."

34:Harner E-4. 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9



new permanent white settlement in the Jívaro region since 1599. These mestizos seem to have been tolerated by the Jívaro as a source of Western-manufactured goods, especially machetes and steel lance heads, the latter specially manufactured in the adjacent highland province of Azuay for the Jívaro trade.

In 1887, the Dominican order founded a Catholic mission at Macas, but abandoned it in 1898 without apparently having had much effect on the Jívaro.[18] A Protestant mission of the Gospel Missionary Union was established at Macas in 1902, but it likewise was soon terminated.[19]

The last two decades of the century were also marked by visits to Macas by gatherers of cinchona bark and rubber. These commercial collectors generally employed Macabeos as guides and intermittently bartered guns and other trade goods to the Jívaro in exchange for latex or other natural products. However, the rubber trade existed only in an attenuated form in this remote portion of the Amazon, partly because of the problem of transporting the rubber in the absence of navigable rivers.

Although the Amazon rubber boom soon began to decline, other new inroads into the western Jívaro territory were shortly made by the Catholic Salesians, who founded missions at Méndez, near the juncture of the Río Paute and Río Upano, in 1914, and then at Macas in 1924.[20] Except for these missionaries, however, white colonization of the region was still slight. Even Macas remained so isolated from the outside world that the first horse was not brought into the village until 1928, when a man carried a colt on his back from Riobamba, according to local informants.

In 1932, Macas was described by a visitor as follows:

> Macas stands in the midst of a highly fertile district, and is really a group of small farms supporting about five hundred

34:Harner E-4, 5 (1956-1969)1973 SD9 Jivaro SD9



from the frontier Jivaro. These firearms are still being obtained in ever greater numbers.

The development of long-distance chains of trading partners between the interior Jivaro and adjacent tribes is an especially noteworthy change, mainly occurring since the end of the Amazon rubber boom, about 1914–15. The impetus for this development was provided by the fact that the end of the rubber boom found the Achuara tribe, which had been much more involved in the rubber trade than the Jivaro, suddenly cut off from their supply of firearms and ammunition. At the same time, trade between the frontier Jivaro and the whites at Macas and Méndez was beginning to develop significantly, and the Jivaro also wanted Achuara products, particularly blowguns and dart poison. The essential result was that both the Jivaro and the Achuara found it profitable to develop mutual trade. To the former inventory of products traded within the Jivaro tribe, such as salt and machete blade fragments, were added new goods coming from the frontier Jivaro on the west, and the Achuara in the east. The new goods primarily have been firearms, gunpowder, increased quantities of steel cutting tools from the frontier Jivaro, and featherwork, blowguns, and dart poison from the Achuara.

In connection with trading partnerships, a minor ritual has been learned from the Achuara tribe. This is the ceremony in which two men embrace each other, kneeling on a cloth, to formalize a partnership relationship. Previously any contractual ritual was unknown.

The new universal demand among the interior Jivaro for firearms and gunpowder has made the men of every neighborhood extremely dependent on those persons who have trading partners in neighborhoods nearer the regions of white settlement in the west. The intensification of the trading